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NARRATIVE

OF THE

TRANSACTIONS, IMPRISONMENT,

AND

SUFFERINGS

O F

JOHN CONNOLLY,

1750?-1813

AN

AMERICAN LOYALIST,

AND

LIEUTENANT-COLONEL in his Majesty's Service.

IN WHICH ARE SHEWN,

The unjustifiable Proceedings of CONGRESS, in his TREATMENT and DETENTION.

LONDON:

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NARRATIVE, &c.

HERE cannot, perhaps, be a more severe task imposed upon a person, who has any pretenfions to that sense of propriety which distinguishes a delicate mind, than to be obliged to relate a long story, of which he is himself the subject. It has, however, always been held excusable if the incidents were extraordinary, and it were necessary to the future peace and prosperity of the narrator they should be known, provided the tale were told with modesty and truth. I hope this gentle indulgence will be kindly extended to me, and that the unavoidable egotism that must pervade this narrative, will be benevolently overlooked in mercy to the misfortunes of one who is at least conscious of having acted with good intentions, and from principles which he believed B

believed were descriptive of a loyal subject, an honest man, and a man of honour.

I was born in America of respectable parents, and received as perfect an education as that country could afford. In the early part of life I was bred to physic, the practice of which it was intended I should pursue; my natural bent of mind, however, determined otherwise. It was my ambition to be a foldier; and this passion was so prevalent that, contrary to the wishes of my friends, I went a volunteer, while yet a youth, to Martinico, where I endeavoured to distinguish myself, as far as inexperience and an unimportant station would admit. After the peace of 1762, the North American Indians entered into a general confederacy to destroy our frontier settlements and demolish the garrisons. British commander in chief was obliged to fend an army to repel these invaders; in which, once more a volunteer, I ferved two campaigns, at my own private expence; and, as became me, chearfully and ambitiously encountered the dangers and fatigues of war. Here I had an opportunity of observing the great difference between the petite guerre of the Indians, and the military fystem of the Euro-

Europeans, and how effentially necessary it was for a good foldier in this fervice to be master of them both. Animated by a strong defire to make myself worthy to serve my King and country on future occasions, after peace was established with the Indians, I explored our newly acquired territory, vifited the various tribes of native Americans, studied their different manners and customs, undertook the most toilsome marches with them through the extensive wilds of Canada, and depended upon the precarious chace for my fubfistence for months successively. A perfeverance in these preliminary duties of a good foldier taught me to endure hardships, and gave me agility of body, and an aptitude to enterprize, very proper to form a partizan officer.

Delighted with the foil and climate, I afterwards fixed my refidence beyond the Apalachian mountains in West Augusta county, and as numbers were daily emigrating thither from the middle Colonies, I was active in encouraging the new settlers; these soon acquired property, the spirit of industry increased, cultivation and improvement were extended, and establishments, scarcely credit

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ble, arose from the midst of a wilderness, and spread for more than one hundred miles down the river Ohio. To be at the head of a new fettlement was not the only object I had in view. During the preceding war, France had fent her foldiers from Canada, and by seizing this country, and erecting Fort Du Quesne (now Fort Pitt) had given great disturbance to Virginia, and the Middle Colonies in general. This new fettlement precluded the possibility of renewing the like ravages from Louisiana, now the only avenue through which we were vulnerable, in case of future hostilities with the House of Bourbon. I had been taught from my earliest infancy to revere my King and country, and provide against their enemies: I had here an opportunity of performing my duty, and I was happy.

In the infancy of the fettlement, the magistrates of Pennsylvania usurped a power of jurisdiction that was not only illegal but extremely prejudicial to the inhabitants; to preserve which, they proceeded to many very unjustifiable acts of violence, and went even so far as to threaten an appeal to the sword. I was the person, who having the most power, had

had the greatest share in procuring a redress of these grievances. I was sensible the Charter limits of the Province of Pennsylvavania could not justify the exercise of jurisdiction beyond the Western bounds of that government; and therefore applied to the Governor and Council of Virginia, and obtained the necessary authority to prohibit fuch usurpation, until his Majesty's royal pleasure was known. These things are mentioned, not to display my own merits or consequence, but because they are necessary to the narrative; for though it was my endeavour, throughout this transaction, to conduct myself with a dispassionate and candid regard to justice only, yet, as it was prejudicial to the pecuniary interests of some individuals in Pennfylvania, they became my enemies, among whom, was a Gentleman fince advanced to high military rank in the American fervice.

In the year 1774, disputes arose between the Indians and some inconsiderate people, who, it appeared from every circumstance, had treated the former in a very harsh and improper mannner; reciprocal injuries took place, and the industrious and meritorious husbandman, with his innocent family, suf-

fered for the injustice committed by his unprincipled countrymen. I was, at that time, invested with the command of the militia; it was, therefore, my peculiar duty to avert, if possible, a war that threatened the destruction of a flourishing Colony, and every endeavour at pacification was employed by me, but unhappily without effect. Depredations continued, and the defenceless inhabitants fled from the vengeance of their enraged enemies. However, in obedience to the orders of his excellency Lord Dunmore, I raised a body of men sufficient to cover the frontier, and by a chain of small forts repelled the violence of their incursions. Hostilities did not end here; other Indian nations joined the confederacy, and the war became more important. Two fmall armies were marched into the enemy's country, as the fole means of effecting a speedy and permanent reconciliation. Lord Dunmore, in person, commanded; and a battle, the most important that ever happened on a fimilar occafion, in North America, was fought, in which the Indians were totally routed, purfued to their towns, and reduced to the neceffity of giving hostages for the accomplishment of a treaty of peace entered into by them, and which was to have been finally ratified the enfuing spring at Pittsburgh *. I cannot speak in terms sufficiently expressive of the admiration with which the whole army beheld Lord Dunmore, during this expedition. His conduct was exemplary to the officer and the soldier: he chearfully encountered every hardship, waded through every creak, and marched with his men upwards of four hundred miles on foot. He preserved the dignity, by suffilling the duties of his station.

In the course of this contest, ten principal warriors and chiefs were made prisoners, and committed to my charge at Fort Pitt, where, after the expedition, I had the honour to command some Colony troops as Major Commandant. I have before spoken of the efforts I had used to qualify myself for the profession of arms; and I had now the satisfaction to meet every honourable testimony of applause for my behaviour in the Indian war, both from his excellency Lord Dunmore and my fellow-subjects.

Although

^{*} Pittsburgh and Fort Pitt are the same, that is, they are contiguous.

Although Congress had affembled themfelves in September 1774, yet, as that was
about the time I was going into the Indian
country, my mind was so intent upon the
war, I paid but little regard to political heats
which every loyalist imagined would soon
subside; but on my return, the intimations
of my friends, and the proceedings of the
disaffected, gave me the first unhappy presages of the ensuing commotions. These
were greatly heightened by the following
letter, which I received from General Washington, in answer to one I had written to
him on Indian affairs.

Mount-Vernon, Feb. 25, 1775.

Dear Sir,

Your fervant, on his return from Williamsburg, affords me occasion to answer your polite letter. I confess the state of affairs is sufficiently alarming; which our critical situation, with regard to the Indians does not diminish: but as you have wrote to Lord Dunmore, relative to the prisoners under your charge, there can be no doubt of his Lordship's having now transmitted you the necessary directions on that subject.——I

have only to express my most ardent wishes that every measure, consistent with reason and found policy, may be adopted to keep those people, at this time, in good humour; for another rupture would not only ruin the external, but internal parts of this government. If the journal of your proceedings in the Indian war is to be published, I shall have an opportunity of feeing what I have long coveted. With us here, things wear a disagreeable aspect; and the minds of men are exceedingly disturbed at the measures of the British government. The King's Speech and Address of both Houses, prognosticate nothing favourable to us; but by some subfequent proceedings thereto, as well as by private letters from London, there is reason to believe, the Ministry would willingly change their ground, from a conviction that forcible measures will be inadequate to the end defigned .--- A little time must now unfold the mystery, as matters are drawing to a point.

I am, dear Sir,

your friend, and most obedient

Major Connolly,
Fort Pitt,

humble servant,

(Signed) G. Washington. C This

This letter spoke in plain terms the spirit of its dictator, and the intelligence I received from all quarters confirmed my apprehenfions. And here I have the confolation to reflect, that my loyalty to my Prince, and respect for the established form of government, were too confirmed to admit of the least doubt which party I should espouse; I decided instantly, and resolved to exert every faculty in defence of the royal cause; from which resolution not one idea has ever fwerved, although my fucceeding misfortunes left me only the inclination, while it deprived me of the power to execute. At this time, indeed, I had better prospects; for notwithstanding that those illegal affemblies, called county committees, had generally pervaded the thirteen Provinces, I had influence enough, not only to prevent any fuch affembly in West-Augusta county, where I prefided, but likewise to engage a formidable body of friends, at the risk of life and fortune, in support of the constitutional authority.

The battle of Bunker's-Hill had now been fought, and the flames of rebellion began openly to blaze. I had written to Lord

Lord Dunmore for instructions respecting my conduct, who, I found, would be obliged to quit his government; and received for answer, that he advised me to disband the troops, at the time limited by act of affembly, that they might have no cause of complaint on that head; that I should convene the Indians to a general treaty, restore the prisoners, and endeavour to incline them to espouse the royal cause. This last proved a most hazardous enterprize, though not therefore relinquished; for the affembly of Virginia, having refolved themselves into an unwarrantable convention, finding I had invited the contiguous Indian tribes to a general congress at Fort Pitt, deputed a committee of their own body to inspect my conduct. These people were ordered to impress upon the minds of the Indians, the justice of the hostile proceedings against this country, and the necessity of arming, as a preliminary to the intended requisition of their auxiliary aid in future. This was the direct contrary to what it was my duty, if possible, to effect; and, narrowly as I was watched, I had the happiness to succeed in this dangerous and critical undertaking.

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This was owing to my superior knowledge of Indian manners and tempers, and the measures I had previously taken. I had most affiduously cultivated the friendship, and infinuated myself into the favour of my prifoners; had convinced them of the advantages that might accrue to their nations, by adhering to the British government; and procured their promises to negotiate the bufiness with their brethren, which they punctually performed. Thus I fecretly frustrated the machinations of the Republicans, while I received their thanks, and procured affurances from the Indian chiefs to support his Majesty, at all events, as his Majesty's most faithful friends and auxiliaries; as a proof of which, I was authorized to transmit a large belt of wampum to Lord Dunmore, from him to be fent to his Majesty, as a symbol of their inviolable attachment to his royal person. This public transaction employed a fortnight, at the end of which I dismissed the Indians perfectly satisfied and informed; having first added an additional and confiderable present out of my private fortune, to what had been publicly voted for that purpose.

The troops lately under my command were now disbanded, the demagogues of faction were active, the spirit of sedition was every where prevalent, and distrust of each other pervaded hearts the most loyal. But as nothing great or good could be effected in times like these without risk, I considered only what plan was best at such a conjuncture; and having determined, refolved to act with vigour, as a temporizing neutrality was neither confistent with my principles nor my passions. My design briefly was, first to engage as many gentlemen of consequence as possible to join with me in defence of government, and afterwards to make my way through the country, visit Lord Dunmore, who was now driven, for personal safety, on board a ship lying at Norfolk, consult with him, and take his instructions concerning the most effectual mode I and my adherents could pursue to serve his Majesty. I began by inviting such of my friends as I could best depend on to an entertainment, where, as public disturbances were now the universal topic, little address was necessary to introduce fuch discourse. Encouraged by an unanimity of opinion, each man delivered

his fentiments freely; and as I found them univerfally enraged against the arbitrary proceedings of the Republican party, I ventured to predict, that nothing less than independency, and a total revolution, were intended by the leaders of faction, whatever might be their pretenfions. My friends were men warmed with a high veneration for his Majesty, and the constitution; and as the conversation operated as I could wish, I found means to take some of the most confidential aside, and inform them of my plan, of my resolution to execute it at the hazard of life and fortune, and of my expectation of their hearty concurrence and aid. The gentlemen present were most of them either officers in the militia, or magistrates of the county, confequently were those whose influence and wealth could most effectually serve the cause. A folemn compact was immediately entered into, stating, that if an accommodation did not take place, and I could procure the neceffary authority to raife men, they would, at the risk of life and property, most willingly engage to restore the constitutional authority, as far as any co-operative measure from that county could contribute to so salutary

lutary a defign, after which the strictest secrecy was enjoined, and the company separated.

The circumspection and art necessary to escape to Lord Dunmore, occasioned some preparatory delay; and the following incident, which will give a lively picture of the anarchy of the times, made this delay still greater. Two nights before my intended departure, my servant entered my room after midnight, to inform me that an express was just arrived, with dispatches from Lord Dunmore, and defired admittance. I ordered him to be brought in, and immediately a man followed my fervant in a travelling drefs, with a packet in his hand. I drew my curtain, received it, and was breaking open the feal, when the villain feized me by the throat, presented a pistol to my breast, told me I was his prisoner, and, if I offered the least resistance, a dead man. I had been fo long learning to despise danger, and acquire fortitude, that I was not easily to be intimidated. I rightly suspected he had accomplices, fo leaping up, I drove the fellow back, seized him, and while struggling gave the door a kick, and shut it by the spring lock.

-lock. I called to my fervant for my fword or pistols; but to his stupefaction, it is probable, I owe my present existence; for though I should have killed my antagonist in selfdefence, I should have fallen the immediate martyr of revenge. My door was quickly burst open by his armed coadjutors, about twenty in number; and the contest becoming unequal, I was compelled to fubmit myself their prisoner. I was scarcely allowed time to dress; my servants were secured; I was mounted on a horse brought for the purpose, hurried away, and obliged to ride all night at the risk of my neck, till about ten o'clock in the morning, when I found myself at Ligonier, fifty-four miles from Pittsburgh.

I foon learnt I was in the power of my inveterate enemy, the commander of the militia, and principal man of the place; who had taken this opportunity of wreaking his malice, under pretence of feizing a dangerous person and a Tory, an appellation lately revived, and given by the republicans to the loyalists; and which the common people were taught to hold in such abhorrence, that Tory was, in their imaginations, synonimous

nymous to every thing vile and wicked. My only hope, and that a very diffant one, was, a rescue by my friends; and as I was informed, that I was suspected of an intention to raise a body of men to act against the liberties of America, to answer which accufation I must immediately be sent to Congress, I found I could only escape, by gaining time, and protracting a journey fo destructive to all my future defigns. The agitation of mind unavoidable in fuch times, and under fuch circumstances, with the fatigue of such an unexpected jaunt, had brought on a flight indisposition, which I purposely magnified, and prevailed on the gentleman in whose custody I was, to suffer me to go to bed; where by continuing the fame pretences, I remained all day, and when night came was indulged with a farther respite till the next morning. My wish was, that my friends, who had the cause of loyalty as well as friendship at heart, would gain the passes of the Lawrel-hill or Allegheny mountains, and there effect my rescue.

In the morning, when we had breakfasted, the guard had mounted, and I reluctantly

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on the point of setting off for Philadelphia, a man on horseback arrived at Ligonier from the mountains, who had apparently rode very hard. He was stopped by the Captain of the guard, and I foon perceived, by their whispers and change of countenance, he brought intelligence they did not like; and almost at the same instant, another person was feen coming, with the greatest expedition, in the contrary direction from Pittsburgh, whom I foon knew to be one of my neighbours, though not perfectly satisfied at that time of his loyalty. To me these were favourable omens, and my conjectures were quickly confirmed, by the arrival of the Gentleman who planned and directed this expedition, and who now faluted me very civilly, entered into conversation, spoke of the disagreeable prospect of a civil war, and the unjustifiable attempts of the British legiflature; which supposition I repelled, as far as the delicacy of my fituation would permit.

Happening to pass through the kitchen of the public house where we were, one of the maids followed me out, and informed me, that a considerable body of my friends were waiting at the Lawrel-hill, who had vowed

vowed to put every man to the fword whom they should find guarding me, and afterwards to burn down the house of their principal, in revenge for fuch a lawless outrage. This intelligence perfectly explained appearances, and gave me boldness, so that when I re-entered, I prefently came to an eclaircissement with my enemy. I observed to him, that his conduct seemed to precipitate the horrors of civil diffension, and that his having recourse to an armed force to remove me out of my own country, in fo hoftile and suspicious a manner, could not fail to awaken the resentment of my friends, who, undoubtedly, on fuch a preffing occasion, would have recourse to force also, and repel violence by violence: I added, that it was mutually our duty to suppress, not encourage fuch proceedings, for they were indubitably big with the most dreadful calamities. The conclusion was, I was permitted to return home, and very gladly took my leave. I had not yet, however, passed the boundaries of danger.

I had not proceeded far on my return, before I met one of my fervants with a led horse, and a portmanteau of cloaths for my

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use,

use, in case I had been taken to Philadelphia. He informed me of several persons he had feen affembled at Hannah's Town, whose political characters were the reverse of mine, and that he suspected they intended me fome injury; and accordingly we prefently faw three persons approach, whom I knew to be Magistrates of Pennsylvania, and whom I had some time before been under the necessity of arresting and holding to bail, because they would persist to execute their magisterial functions beyond the limits of their own province and county, (as related in the beginning of this narrative), very much to the prejudice of his Majesty's subjects in the colony of Virginia. These Gentlemen, who were accompanied by the Sheriff, after a hasty salute, arrested me on a writ of twenty thousand pounds damages, for having confined their persons. They proposed returning to Ligonier with me; to this I objected, alledging, that the action was of so strange a nature, I would not give bail, but infifted on being taken to the county gaol, which was near my own home and friends.

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My partizans having heard of my release at Ligonier, and not suspecting any farther attempts, were fatisfied and dispersed, and remained quiet for two or three days; but when they heard I was again detained at Hannah's Town, under a fresh pretext, they were greatly enraged, and were only prevented from proceeding to extremities, by the prudence of a few individuals. A letter was, however, immediately fent from the fenior Magistrate of the county, over which I had the honor to prefide, to the committee of Westmoreland county, written in a firm though proper tone, demanding my releafe. This had instantly the defired effect, and I was at length allowed to return to Pittfburgh, where I was met by a great number of my adherents, armed, and impatiently waiting the issue. My gratitude and feelings at the firmness of their attachment were powerful, and after returning them my thanks in the most expressive manner I could, they again dispersed.

I have related these incidents, because they are not only descriptive of the factious spirit that prevailed, and how plausibly private pique could assume the appearance of public public spirit, but tend likewise to shew, that formidable as the republican party was, the loyalists were not less so; and that had it not been for the after impediment, of a long and rigorous imprisonment, I should undoubtedly have had the power, by collecting, encouraging, and heading my friends, to have served my king and country most effentially.

Once more at liberty, I had now to purfue my plan of vifiting Lord Dunmore; but the distance I had to travel, and the lawless and suspicious temper of the times, made this no easy matter. The treaty which I had concluded with the Indians, gave me ostensible business to the Committee at Winchester; and the better to hide my intentions, I prevailed with three of the Indian Chiefs to accompany me thither, carrying with me a copy of the treaty, calculated for the inspection of the President and Convention affembled at Richmond. I travelled about one hundred and eighty miles from Fort Pitt, till I came to the warm springs in Frederick county, without any remarkable occurrence. Here I met a great concourse of Gentlemen from the different governments,

vernments, who delivered fentiments very. opposite to mine; but though I had the caution not to contradict, notwithstanding that I heard the groffest falshoods industrioufly propagated, yet my filence was construed into diffension, and I was given to understand, I was a suspected person, and that it had been proposed to form a committee to enquire into my conduct and intentions. Though this arbitrary examination was dropped, I learnt, that several Gentlemen had written to the Committee at Winchefter, describing me as a suspicious and dangerous character. I determined, however, to proceed; and concluded, that if I could escape, with plausibility, this one more difficulty, I might obtain some certificate of the satisfaction my conduct had given this newly erected tribunal, which might ferve as a passport through the remainder of my journey.

The day after I arrived, the expected ferutiny took place, and I found not only the letters written from the suspicious valetudinarians of the warm springs, but one come express from the clerk of the county where I myself presided, replete with affurances

furances to the committee, of my dangerous and Tory principles; and expressive of a conviction, that I intended to join Lord Dunmore, and meditated every opposition to the laudable purposes then adopted for the suppression of tyranny. To men enslamed with enthufiastic ideas of infringed rights, this was a charge most criminal: I endeavoured to avert and foften it, by declaring, first, in general terms, that though my reverence for the King and Constitution might, at fome moments, possibly have betrayed me into expressions reflecting on certain proceedings, which, I could not help dreading, might plunge our unhappy country into all the horrors of a civil war, yet I had ever exerted myself to the utmost extent of my abilities for the public good, in all affairs which I had been deemed worthy to transact: that I flattered myself, the treaty and proceedings with the Indians, now open for their inspection, would vouch for my affertions: that with respect to letters and sufpicions, they were no proofs; and that the letter most positive in accusation, came from a person not instigated by a love of justice and his country, but by motives far less praisepraise-worthy, of which I gave them satisfactory and notorious proofs.

And now an incident happened, that turned the scale entirely in my favour, for just as the Clerk of the Committee had finished reading the Indian treaty, an express arrived with dispatches from the President of the Convention, held at Richmond, containing not only an entire approbation of my conduct, in the before-mentioned Indian treaty, of which the Commissioners, sent to inspect and affist, had given an account, but likewise a polite and complimentary letter from the President to me, expressing a desire to fee me along with the Indian Chiefs. This produced every thing I could wish. The Clerk was ordered to give me a copy of a resolve, signifying their entire satisfaction, at my good and able conduct, and their belief, of my having acted heretofore, in a manner conducive to the liberties of America.

It was not my purpose, however, to visit the convention, but Lord Dunmore: the next day, therefore, I informed the Indians, I must now part with them, as my business required I should take a different rout; ad-

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wised them to meet the Convention at Richmond; brought to their recollection, the duty I had so often inculcated, and took my leave; but not without regret at parting with men, who, though unpolished and barbarous, had great integrity of heart, and an inviolable friendship.

So full was the country become of Committees, new raised militia, petty officers, and other persons officially busy, in hopes of being distinguished, that the utmost circumspection was continually necessary. When I came to Fredericksburg, I dined with an old friend, in better days Doctor, afterwards General Mercer, and killed at Prince Town, in an action with the seventeenth regiment, and because I was silent, when inflammatory and unconstitutional toasts and fentiments were drank, the next day, when I again set off on my journey, I found they had placed a spy upon me, under the appearance of an accidental traveller on the road to Richmond.

Him, however, I had the address to shake off. When I came near Williamsburg, I contrived so as to pass through the town in the night. I saw several officers and sol-

diers,

diers, and was hailed by the centinels, but answering, "a friend," they supposed me a country Gentleman, and suffered me to pass. Though the rains had been, and were exceedingly heavy, attended with violent thunder and lightning, I did not stop till I came to York-Town, which was towards midnight, and there, thoroughly drenched, and excessively fatigued, I went to bed. now near the end of my journey, in the morning I again fet forward, through still unremitting rain, which, though very difagreeable, was a very convenient circumstance, for the militia and inhabitants were obliged to keep in their houses, and I passed through Hampton safe and unobserved. I here procured a boat, and by a little finesse with the watermen, got on board the ship where Lord Dunmore usually remained. His Lordship was gone on shore to Gosport, whither I instantly followed, and immediately obtained the ardently wished-for pleafure of an interview.

Those only who have seen such times, and been in similar situations; who have felt the like passionate desire to distinguish themselves in the service of their King and coun-

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try, and the like apprehensions of being prevented, those only can conceive the satisfaction I experienced at this moment. I had been twice a prisoner, and twice rescued; had passed the Apalachian Mountains, and come upwards of four hundred and fifty miles, through a country where every eye feemed intuitively fuspicious; had formed a party in favour of the cause I had espoused; and my heart fwelled with the hopes of doing something eminently conspicuous: I had happily joined a Nobleman, whose loyal fentiments corresponded with my own, and who made it an invariable rule never to fuffer those who preferred their allegiance to the vain applauses of a giddy multitude, to pass undistinguished. Thus far success attended my efforts, and I was happy: the reverse of the medal must presently appear.

It was evident, on consulting with Lord Dunmore, and informing him of the plan I had concerted, and the confederacy I had formed, that when his Lordship was reinforced with supplies from Britain, a co-operative body of troops from Canada, and the western frontiers of Virginia, with Indian auxiliaries, would be ready to act at the time

that Sir William Howe would draw their principal attention to the northward. This would not only be productive of the restitution of the royal authority in this colony, but have a general tendency to promote the fuccess of his Majesty's arms, and the like happy effects univerfally. His Lordship therefore dispatched me to General Gage at Boston, to lay before his Excellency the projected scheme, and to defire his concurrence and co-operation. But as Lord Dunmore had promised the Indian Chiefs, when in their country, that he would certainly meet them in person the ensuing spring, at Fort Pitt, finally to adjust all differences; and as the rebellion had rendered it impossible to keep his promise, he was solicitous to transmit an apology to a Chief of the Delawares, intimating in some measure the cause of this disappointment. This speech his Lordship gave to my charge, and defired me to transmit to a Mr. Gibson, of Pittsburgh, that he might interpret it to the Chief. I had reason to suspect Lord Dunmore reposed too much confidence in this Gentleman, but as he had lately been with his Lordship on bufiness, and as his Lordship seemed persuaded he was worthy of being trusted, I gave up suspicions that afterwards appeared to be but too well founded. Ideas of former intimacy and juvenile friendship arose in my mind, for we had been long acquainted, and I selt an anxiety to preserve him from measures, which I deemed destructive to both his interest and honour. When therefore I sent him the speech, I likewise enclosed the solutioning letter:

Portsmouth, Aug. 9, 1775.

Dear Sir,

I am safely arrived here, and am happy, to the greatest degree, in having so fortunately escaped the narrow inspection of my enemies, the enemies to their country, to good order, and to government. I should esteem myself defective in point of friendship towards you, should I neglect to caution you to avoid an over zealous exertion of what is now ridiculously called patriotic spirit: but, on the contrary, to deport yourself with that moderation for which you have always been remarkable, and which must, in this instance, tend to your honour and advantage. You may be assured from me, Sir, that nothing

but the greatest unanimity now prevails at home; that the innovating spirit amongst us here is looked upon as ungenerous and undutiful; that the utmost exertions of the powers of government, if necessary, will be used to convince the infatuated people of their folly. I could, I affure you, Sir, give you fuch convincing proofs of what I affert, and from which every reasonable person may conclude the effects, that nothing but madness could operate upon a man so far as to overlook his duty to the present constitution, and to form unwarrantable affociations with enthusiasts, whose ill-timed folly must draw upon them inevitable destruction. His Lordship desires you to present his hand to Capt. White-Eyes, and to affure him that he is very forry he had not the pleasure of feeing him at the treaty, or that the fituation of affairs prevented him from coming down. Believe me, dear Sir, that I have no motive in writing my fentiments thus to you, farther than to endeavour to steer you clear of the misfortunes which I am confident must involve, but unhappily, too many.

I have fent you an address from the People of Great-Britain to the People of America; and I desire you to consider it attentively, which will, I slatter myself, convince you of the idleness of many declamations, and of the absurdity of an intended slavery. Give my love to George, and tell him he shall hear from me, and I hope to his advantage. Interpret the inclosed speech to Capt. White-Eyes from his Lordship; be prevailed upon to shun the popular error, and judge for yourself; act as a good subject, and expect the rewards due to your services.

I am, dear Sir,
Your fincere friend and fervant,
John Connolly.

To John Gibson, Esquire, near Fort Dunmore.

To a mind impressed with the slightest sense of rectitude, and that has ever once conceived the meaning of the word honour, it seems impossible that any man can be base enough to betray a private considential correspondence, more especially where the intention was indisputably benevolent and friendly. This dishonourable act, however, was Mr. Gibson's: he laid my letter before

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the county committee, to which I am to attribute my succeeding misfortunes, and a five year's captivity. Many other letters of mine were fent, at the same time, and by the fame conveyance, to persons who afterwards accepted offices of high trust under the Republican government; yet none, either then or fince, ever divulged my opinions. This gentleman, for his treacherous display of patriotism, was honoured with a consequential military command; and I have frequently had the mortification to see him enjoy the warm fun-shine of freedom and favour, from the window of an inhospitable prison.—But to return.

It was agreed I should go to Boston, for which voyage a small schooner was provided and manned from the Otter floop, and I fet out for head quarters, charged with Lord Dunmore's dispatches to the commander in chief, where I arrived after a voyage of ten days.

Secret and expeditious as I had hitherto been, my arrival at Boston was soon known to General Washington. The inhabitants, by permission, were daily going in and out of the town; and some of them had so far

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corrupted my fervant, as to obtain from him fuch intelligence as he could give. He was an Englishman, had lived with Lord Dunmore, and had acquaintance in General Washington's family, to whom, some short time after, he eloped, where he reported a strange mixture of truth and falshood, relative to my past proceedings and future intentions.

When my propositions were laid before General Gage, he was well acquainted with American affairs, and saw the advantages that were likely to refult from their being put in execution: they met, therefore, with his entire approbation. But as General Arnold (then in the American service) had already began an expedition against Canada by the Kennebec River, and other obstacles intervened, I could not immediately proceed to Quebec, as was at first intended, so it was thought most expedient I should return to Virginia, taking with me his Excellency's instructions to the officers commanding at the Illinois and Detroit, as well as to the deputy superintendant of Indian affairs.

After experiencing feveral of those tedious delays always inseparable from sea voyages,

and calling on board the Asia, lying at New-York, agreeable to the directions of Lord Dunmore, to enquire for dispatches from England, I arrived once more at Portsmouth, and rejoined his Lordship on the 12th of October. A short fit of sickness, occasioned by excessive fatigue and anxiety, for I had travelled this year upwards of four thousand miles, and always upon affairs that lay heavy on the mind, held me in a suspense that, while it lasted, made illness doubly irksome. As foon, however, as I was able, I confulted with his Lordship upon my plan and future proceedings; and on the 5th of November, 1775, a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, under his Lordship's fign manual, as his Majesty's representative, was given me, with full power and authority to raise a battalion of men, and as many independent companies as I could. deputy superintendant of Indian affairs was directed to make fuch expences in that department, as I might judge requisite for his Majesty's service; and the officer commanding a detachment of the eighteenth regiment at the Illinois, was ordered to join me at Detroit, by the Ouabache communication.

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The commanding officer at Detroit, likewife, was defired to give every encouragement to the Canadians of his district, to embody themselves for the expedition under my orders; and every other matter was fo arranged, as to give the fairest prospect of fuccess. These dispositions were made conformable to appearances and probabilities. Early the next spring, we had the strongest reason to hope, that a formidable body of British troops would take the field; that the combined force of the enemy must be drawn to the northward, and that I should have an opportunity of marching from Pittsburg, with the detachment of the eighteenth regiment, the new-raifed corps, and Indian auxiliaries, so as to form a junction with Lord Dunmore at Alexandria. By this means the communication between the fouthern and northern governments would have been interrupted, and a favourable turn indisputably given to his Majesty's affairs in the southern Provinces.

To put these designs into action, the service required I should first go to Detroit, to gain which there were several routes. But as this garrison lay at least seven hundred miles

miles distant in the straitest possible direction, and as the circuitous roads were not only very tedious, but liable to other objections, I determined to go the shortest way through Maryland. In this my knowledge of the country and the people, made me fo far justifiable, that I should undoubtedly have succeeded, and passed safe, had it not been for an accident (before alluded to) of which I could not then possibly have any forefight. My instructions and commission were concealed in the sticks of my fervant's mail pillion, artfully contrived for that purpose, and in the night of the 13th of November, 1775, I took my leave of Lord Dunmore, and set off in company with Lieutenant Allen Cameron, and Dr. John Smyth. These Gentlemen were both staunch loyalists, men of abilities, and very agreeable to me. Mr. Cameron was from Scotland, and well acquainted with the Indians and Indian affairs, having acted as agent under the honourable John Stuart, superintendant general of that department. He had fuffered much abuse for his unshaken loyalty, previous to his coming into Virginia, and had refused the republican offers of military rank

in South Carolina with difdain. He had come with dispatches from Governor Lord William Campbell, of South Carolina, Tonyn of East Florida, and the honourable John Stuart, and intended to ferve in a corps of Highland emigrants, then raising at Boston, and fince the eighty-fourth regiment. His loyalty, courage, and good conduct, were so well established, that Lord Dunmore thought him a proper person to accompany me, and gave him a lieutenant's commission, leaving it with me to advance him to a company, if I thought good, on raifing the corps, which from the experience I afterwards had of his worth and estimable qualities, I should certainly have done. Dr. Smyth was a Gentleman, who had refided in Maryland, but his nonconformity to the temper of the times, had made him obnoxious to the republican party. Incapable of temporizing, he was on his way to West Florida, to escape the turbulence of faction, and act agreeably to his principles. Observing him to be a man of quick penetration, firm loyalty, and ready to ferve his Majesty at all hazards, intimately acquainted too with the lower parts of Maryland,

land, through which I intended to pass, I solicited him to accompany me likewise, defigning to make him surgeon to the regiment.

We began our unfortunate journey by the way of the Potowmac River, intending to land on the Maryland fide near Port Tobacco, and by a feint, leave the Pittsburgh road, and proceed by a private route to a place called the Standing Stone, which was beyond the influence of county committees, and from whence to Detroit is not above feven days journey. This, however, was prevented by a furious north-west wind, that drove us up the river St. Mary's, where we landed and took the road like ordinary travellers. We proceeded on, unmolested, till the evening of the 19th, when we were on the very border of the frontier, and almost out of danger. We stopped for the night at a public house about five miles beyond Hagar's Town, the landlord of which knew me. From him we learnt, that although it was known I had been on board with Lord Dunmore, yet it was supposed I should return quietly to Pittsburgh, as soon as I had fettled my own personal concerns; neither

ther was it known that I had been to Boston. The misfortune that hung over my head was the effect, not of temerity, but unsuspected private treachery, and the manner in which this happened was as follows:

Some short time before we came to our inn in the evening, a young man met us, that had formerly been a private under my command at Pittsburgh, and saluted me, as he passed, by the title of Major. This gave fome uneafiness to the gentlemen with me, who wished to have him secured; but as I could not pass through this country without the probability of being known by many, and as any violence, or even art, used with the man, were likely rather to produce than avoid the effects they feared; beside, that there was not really any probable danger, I thought it by far most prudent to suffer him to pass unnoticed. About ten o'clock the same night, this man went to a beer-house in Hagar's Town, and mixed with some officers of the Minute-men (a species of the Volunteer Militia) where hearing some person in company enquire who those gentlemen were that passed through the town in the evening, he replied, that one of them was Major Connolly.

nolly. Unfortunately for me a copy of my letter to Mr. Gibson, with Lord Dunmore's speech to the Delaware Chief, had been fent, only two days before, to the Colonel of the Minute Men, who had spoken of it as a demonstration of my Tory principles to the officers then present; they, therefore, immediately informed their Colonel of my having passed through the town, and he, with as much expedition, fent a body of his men after us, to oblige us to return, that we might be examined before the committee. About two o'clock in the morning they fuddenly broke into the room where we lay, and made us prisoners. We were conducted to Hagar's Town, kept in separate houses during the next day and night, and fuffered that kind of disturbance and abuse which might be expected from undisciplined foldiers, and a clamorous rabble, at fuch a crisis. The day following, the committee being affembled, my letter was produced, as a testimony of my political principles being repugnant to their own; and the speech of Lord Dunmore commented upon, as defigned to influence the Indians to act against them, in case of hostilities with Great-Bri-

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tain. To which I answered, the sentiments contained in my letter were the result of friendship for a person, with whom I had had a long and early acquaintance. They were not calculated to publicly prejudice their measures; and the person advised was entirely at liberty to pursue his own inclinations. It extended no farther than the giving a private opinion; and the only perfon culpable was he who could fo unwarrantably betray a confidential letter. With respect to the speech, I observed, it was merely an apology from Lord Dunmore to the Indians; he not being able to meet them in council at Pittsburgh, agreeable to his promise the preceding year. The heat of party refentment feemed confiderably abated when they had heard me; but it was nevertheless resolved, I should not proceed home (where they supposed me going) till the sense of the whole committee, affembled at Frederick Town, could be taken. This fatal refolution, carried only by a finall majority, was, I forefaw, destruction to my hopes, as the news of my having been at Boston must foon get abroad.

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And now, instead of proceeding in the fervice to which my heart was devoted, the next day we were escorted back to Frederick Town, about thirty-five miles, in a retrograde direction, from where we were taken. Here, the first house I entered, I saw a Colonel well known to me, who had just returned from before Boston, and who proceeded, without hesitation, to inform me, that General Washington knew the time of my coming to, and the very day of my leaving Boston; and that it was generally supposed I intended getting into the western part of the Quebec government by the Miffiffipi. All attempts at denial were now idle.

The committee were anxious to seize my papers; but, as I found their search inessectual, I told them they had been sent to Quebec: and, after repeated examination, my portmanteau was returned to my servant, without discovery. Yet, although Dr. Smyth and myself had several times, before we lest Norfolk, severely scrutinized and destroyed every paper that might affect us, there was a manuscript that had been wrapt round a stick of black ball by my servant, so soiled and

and besmeared, as to have escaped the search both of ourselves there, and the committee here, who were as industrious as they were suspicious. This paper, which contained a rough draft of propositions, supposed to have been laid before General Gage by me, but which really was not the case, was discovered in consequence of a fresh examination demanded by a Member of Congress, who arrived at the committee some days after we had been taken to Frederick Town, and was published as my confession, though I repeatedly, and with truth, denied the justice of the supposition.

We were now decidedly prisoners, and it became one of my chief concerns lest my friends of West Augusta County might suffer from my misfortune. I, therefore, obtained an interview with the Member of Congress, and endeavoured to eradicate every suspicion from his mind, by introducing such conversation as I judged most conducive to this purpose. Among other matters, this gentleman informed me, that Congress seeing the consequences of civil war inevitable, had come to a determination that officers taken by them should be admitted to their parole,

and treated with every lenity confistent with the public interest, as they expected a similar indulgence would be extended to the unfortunate on their side, who should become prisoners. How far this resolution was adhered to, the subsequent part of this narrative will testify. The idea was, indeed, to me very renovating; it gave me to hope, that although a prisoner now, and my efforts for the present impeded, I should soon regain my liberty, and have still the power to prove myself an active supporter of the constitutional government.

We were now removed to the house of the Colonel of the Minute-men, and confined in a room where we had no reason to complain of lodging, or diet; but the clamorous gabbling of this raw militia was eternal and noisy beyond conception. They were ignorant, and stupidly turbulent; and their guard, which was relieved every four-and-twenty hours, gave a night of entertainment to themselves and visitors, and of tantalizing perturbation to me, whose heart was incessantly panting after other scenes, and different companions.

My fervant, who was a man of great fidelity and adroitness, was not confined; and as he had gathered fome flight intimations that matters of consequence were in the pillion sticks, and observing the saddle and its appendages suspended in an adjoining shed, after having undergone a severe but fruitless fcrutiny by the committee, he feized a favourable moment in the dead of night, opened the sticks, examined their contents by the light of a fire, and finding of what importance they were, destroyed them all, except my commission. This he sealed up, and conveyed to me, with a note informing me of what he had done, by means of a negroe girl, that had before been proved to be faithful.

Among other conjectures, on the probable operations of Congress, I began to reflect, that they would certainly send a body of men down the Ohio, to capture the small garrifon at Huskuskis, as they were in great want of stores and ordnance. I therefore wished very much to inform Captain Lord, who commanded at the Illinois, of his imminent danger, and advise him to quit his post, and gain Detroit, by the Ouabache communication,

cation, without delay. We had observed, that towards day-light, our guard frequently exhausted by their own noise and folly, were inclined to a momentary quiet, and as no centry were regularly relieved, but all were on duty at the same time, we concluded there was a poffibility for one of my companions to effect an escape. But as verbal intelligence might not find immediate credit, it was necessary I should write, and in this our good Negroe again affisted us: she procured paper, and an ink-horn, which she contrived to leave between the bed and facking-bottom, unnoticed by the guard. Thus furnished, I wrote the necessary letters, and Dr. Smyth willingly offering his fervices for this laborious undertaking, we contrived to unscrew the lock from the door, and towards morning, just as the guard were nodding in their chairs, he flipt down stairs unobserved. We had scarce time to screw the lock on again, and lie down, before the guard entered our room, but feeing fome of us in bed, they concluded we were all there. fo cried all fafe, and retired. This business was very critically effected, for the next day we were to be removed towards Philadelphia, pursuant to an order of Congress.

In the morning, when it was found that Dr. Smyth had made his escape, we felt such consequences as might naturally be expected from vulgar and exasperated men, and were plentifully loaded with opprobrious epithets.

It was on the 29th of December, 1775, in a feverely cold feafon of the year, that we set out for Philadelphia, a journey of one hundred and fixty miles. We were escorted by a party of militia dragoons; our spurs were taken off, our horses placed parallel like coach horses, with their heads tied together in a very confined manner, and a horseman, with a long rope, attached to the intermediate cord, rode before, rudely conducting us in whatever direction he thought proper. My fervant was allowed to follow with my portmanteau, but not having taken off his fpurs, the populace ran violently up to him; and cut through his boot and stocking to tear them away. We were obliged to perform a confiderable journey that day, in a manner painful to remember; the road was rough,

rough, the fnow on the ground, the rivulets numerous and frozen, and a track for the horses obliged to be broken through them. These were only made wide enough for a fingle horse, and notwithstanding our intreaties to the contrary, we were obliged to enter all these narrow passes, with our horses abreast, the consequence of which was, a continual contest between the poor animals, to preserve the open communication, alternately forcing each other to jump upon the firm ice, or break a larger extent in the struggle. Our knees were repeatedly bruifed, and our limbs in imminent danger of being broken, by the inceffant falls and warfare of the horses. Sorry am I to say, it rather afforded cause of merriment to our conductors, than any scope for the exercise of benevolence. For the honour of humanity, however, it should be observed, that our guard confifted of the lowest and most irrational of the inhabitants, in and near the town of Frederick, and their captain a common furgeon-barber.

On the second day we reached York Town, where a committee assembled to determine how they were to lodge us. Their delibe-

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rations were not of long continuance; we were committed to a room in the county goal, in which was a dirty straw bed, little covering; and, notwithstanding the inclemency of the feafon, no fire; add to which, their new made foldiers were fo fond of fife and drum, that they entertained us all night with this music. The next morning was the first of January 1776, and we were conducted from goal to the tavern, where our horses were, by an officer's guard, and a drum beating the rogue's march. Here we were configned once more to our polite friends of Frederick Town, who, to the no finall entertainment of the populace, ironically and vociferously complimented us with many wishes of a happy new year.

Led in this infulting manner, by a formidable guard, and exhibited in terrorem to all loyalists, I now too plainly saw the probability of my falling a political sacrifice, and that this parade of indignity was but the commencement of my sufferings. I was the first person of influence, who had attempted to support the Royal cause, by raising troops in America. That they meant to intimidate every Gentleman from suture efforts of that

that nature, not only by exposing me as an object of contempt to one party, and of dread to the other, but of unrelenting perfecution likewise, will I think be evident from the facts contained in this narrative. Let it, however, be always understood, both here, and in all other places, where I mention the rigours I sustained, that I do not mean to accuse any man, or set of men, any farther than a fair statement of my own case requires; nor have I any view, but to shew that my fufferings were the effects of my unshaken loyalty, that I was, while free, an active maintainer, and when imprisoned, an inflexible adherent to the cause I espoused; that they were convinced of this, and that this was the fource of the unabating feverity with which I was treated. By the received modes of modern war, their conduct was certainly unjustifiable; how far their peculiar fituation may extenuate this charge, is not for me to determine. My purpose is only faithfully to relate what the interest of myfelf and family demands should be related.

When we again set forward, great numbers of the inhabitants of York-Town rode with us to Wright's-Ferry, as well for the H 2 novelty

novelty of the fight, as to be present at an interview that was expected to take place between me and an uterine brother of mine, who had long been the representative of the county in the general affembly of the Province, and who was of a very different political complexion. I know not how this meeting affected the multitude, but to me it conjured up a train of melancholy ideas; my own example gave me a strong picture of the horrors of civil discord, that was too dismal to behold without a shudder. My stay was short; at my brother's request, I was fuffered to walk upon the ice, across the Sufquehanna, in his company, with the guard following in the rear. The painful remembrance of the bleffings of peace, and of the ravages of that diffention that could make the brother war against the brother, and the fon against the father, gave sensations, better to be imagined than expressed. When we reached the opposite shore, therefore, we soon took our leave.

This night we were lodged in the goal at Lancaster, and two days more brought us to Philadelphia, where we were committed to the charge of the associated city militia, dressed

dreffed in uniform. About fix in the evening, by an order from the Council of Safety, we were marched to where they fat, and from thence to prison, where, by the nature of the commitment, we were debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper. My servant too was now involved in the feverity practifed upon me, and we were all three fhut up in a dirty room, in which we could obtain nothing but an old pair of blankets. and that only in confideration of a confiderable premium to the gaoler. In this state we continued in the depth of winter for ten days, without a change of linen, before we could get our cloaths out of the hands of the Council of Safety; at length they were restored, and by virtue of pecuniary influence, we obtained fomething that the keeper called a bed. Here we remained till the latter end of January, when we were removed to a new and elegant prison, then lately erected, whither we were escorted with great formality, and again honoured with the rogue's march. Was this necessity, or was it illiberal faction? if the latter, fuccess will not furely wipe off the aspersion incurred by the authors of this ungenerons treatment; if the former,

benevolence must lament for those who were the unfortunate victims. Thus Congress were determined, not only to hold me up as a public example of political vengeance to the loyalists, but to take every means posfible to degrade and render me contemptible. Though I had progressively acquired rank in the provincial fervice, of which they could not be ignorant, few men having been more generally or more respectably acquainted in the middle and fouthern colonies, though I had obtained a lieutenant-colonel's commission under his Majesty, yet whenever they had occasion to mention me in their resolves and public proceedings, they wrote plain John Connolly, without the least mark of distinction, or affected to call me Doctor, thereby bringing to the remembrance of those who knew me, that it was once intended I should pursue the practice of physic, if that were any difgrace, and infinuating to the world at large, that a Doctor would not have been in fuch a fituation, had he not been a busy factious person. The English history is replete with instances of a similar nature. The tyranny and insolence of republican faction, arraigned even the fovereign

reign of these realms, by the name of Charles Stuart. Self-defence obliges me to make the foregoing remark; it would else become matter of wonder, when the papers of Congress necessarily cited hereafter come to be read, Why, if I were what I say, I was not so distinguished.

Amidst the hardships and chagrines I daily fuffered, I had still the consolation to reflect, I had done every thing possible in the difcharge of my duty, and anxiously hoped Mr. Smyth had been fortunate enough to escape to the Illinois, but in this I was disappointed. This Gentleman, after having encountered a variety of difficulties, and fuffered abuses for having undertaken this enterprize, scandalous to the perpetrators, disagreeable to remember, and unnecessary to relate, was brought once more a prisoner to Philadelphia. I was still resolved, if posfible, to apprize Captain Lord of his danger, which I effected by the following means.

The Council of Safety had made a refolution to discharge all British prisoners, privates, who would take an oath not to engage in hostilities against the United Colonies.

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Among their captives, was a recruit of the Highland emigrants, that was allowed to come of a morning to make my fire, whom I found to be acute, and willing to do me any fervice. This man I prevailed on to take the oath, and procure his release, and then resolved to send him to Pittsburgh, with letters to a friend of mine, who might dispatch an Indian down the Ohio to Captain Lord. The recruit found opportunity to bring me fome writing paper and fal ammoniac, and the business was happily effected. By this means I endeavoured to preserve his Majesty's garrison, stores, and ordnance; but as the transaction became ultimately known to Congress, it did not tend to lessen their severities.

When Mr. Cameron and myself were conveyed to the new Prison, we were both confined in one room; the walls were thick, and not thoroughly dry, so that we contracted inveterate colds. Our room door was constantly kept shut, and our windows towards the street nailed down, by which all free circulation of air was prevented, neither was any person suffered to speak to me, without an order under the signature of the Se-

frances, I began first to experience a very disagreeable and a very serious alteration in my health, when by a resolve of Congress, I was allowed more open air, and a separate room; but this indulgence was of short duration, and I was again locked up night and day.

In the month of December, 1776, an attempt was made by Mr. Cameron, Mr. Smyth, and another gentleman, (Mr. Maclean, fince captain in the eighty-fourth) of so industrious and hazardous a nature as to deserve a particular relation, the horrors of their imprisonment alone can account for the temerity of the enterprize. These gentlemen, with wonderful exertions and address, and with no other tool but a knife, opened a hole through the arched roof, and got unobserved upon the top of the prison. With the unfound paillaffes on which they lay, and their old blankets torn up, they made a rope, and, perilous as the attempt too vifibly was, refolved to endeavour this way to defcend. Mr. Cameron, than whom no man is more daringly intrepid, made the first and the only essay; for scarce had he suspended himhimself beneath the roof, before the faithless cord broke, and he fell near fifty feet upon a hard frozen ground. It feems miraculous, that immediate death was not the consequence. He was taken up lifeless, his ancle bones were broken, and his whole frame shattered. The two unhurt gentlemen were thrown into the dungeon, where they remained until removed, with the other prisoners, to Baltimore, on the advance of the royal army to Trent Town, when Mr. Cameron, in a dying condition, was taken to fick quarters in the city. Mr. Smyth was more fortunate in a third attempt, escaping from Baltimore to New-York, where Sir William Howe gave him a company in the Queen's Rangers.

Mr. Cameron did not obtain his release till the winter of 1778, when, from a series of extreme hardships and abuses, his health was so much impaired, and he only enabled to walk on crutches, that he was incapable of service. This he accounted his greatest misfortune: he therefore came to England, bearing with him the most unequivocal and melancholy testimonials of his loyalty. Here he recovered in so associates a manner, that scarcely

fcarcely any visible marks of lameness remain. I am forry to add, he has not been provided for in that mode in which he is again become capable of acting, with honour to himself, and advantage to society.

When Congress first fled from Philadelphia to Baltimore, they left only a small committee of their body to act in concert with the Council of Safety. I had now been immured within the inhospitable walls of a gaol for upwards of a year, deprived of all exercise, cut off from all social intercourse, and my mind preyed upon by eternal chagrine, by reiterated reflections on what I hoped to have performed, and what, were I free, I might still perform: no wonder that my state of health became truly deplorable. I had contracted a complication of disorders; my legs were fwollen, and I was emaciated to a furprizing degree. Solitude itself was become more folitary, for the very prison was deserted, and I only remained. At this crisis, two members of the Council of Safety came to inform me, I must prepare to move to the fouthward; to which I replied, that my health was so far impaired, of which, they feeing me, would not avoid I 2 being

being convinced, I was no longer able to encounter the difficulties to which I faw others exposed, and that if they meant to continue my existence, they must suffer me to procure a carriage, and go on my parole. To this they assented, moved, as I imagined, by the spectacle they beheld; and I was in hourly expectation of a partial relief, which, however, I did not obtain, till my brother, now become a General in the service of Congress, came to command at Philadelphia. Through his interest, and becoming responsible for my appearance when demanded, I was enlarged upon my parole, and fent to his house in the country, where I was allowed five miles distance to ride for the recovery of my health. This was fourteen months after my first becoming a prifoner at Hagar's town.

I remained here between five and fix weeks, and was then remanded back to prison, where I continued about fix weeks longer, with the liberty, however, of walking in the gaol yard during the day. My health had been too radically impaired to be so suddenly re-established, which being represented to Congress, I was again admitted to live at

my brother's on my parole, though not till he had entered into a high pecuniary obligation with the Council of Safety, for my appearance.

I now began to hope, that austerity and persecution were past, and that henceforth I should be allowed something like those liberties which officers, under fuch circumflances, usually enjoy, till my exchange could be effected. I was miserably deceived. I continued, in this comparatively happy fituation, from the 11th of April, 1777, till the 14th of October following, when Congress, once more obliged to fly from Philadelphia at the approach of Sir William Howe, retired to York Town, in the vicinity of my brother's house. The night of the 14th I was again apprehended, by an order from the board of war: my papers, with every fcrap of manuscript they could collect, seized, and myself hurried away to York-Town prison, close locked up, and every former severity renewed. I was confcious of having done nothing to merit this treatment, and imagined, that as it might flow from some malicious misrepresentation of my having given fecret intelligence to the British army, I should should be enlarged as soon as my innocence appeared. But my prediction was drawn from reflections on justice, candour, and humanity, and I was a false prophet. My papers were returned, and I was taught to hope for my former indulgence; but days and months elapsed, and I was still a prisoner. The convention of Saratoga put so many persons of consequence into the possession of Congress, that the prospect either of humane usage, or exchange, was very faint.

In confequence of a recommendation from Congress, laws were passed in some Provinces, that whoever among the Loyalists should return, within a time specified, and become fubject to the Republic, should have their estates restored. When this act took place in Virginia, I was earnestly solicited to renounce my allegiance, and again enjoy my lands and liberty. But harraffed as I had been, and unhappy as I was, without one earthly comfort, and scarce a future ray of hope, this proposition was peremptorily rejected: at the risk of a lingering death, I preferred my honour and my loyalty to every inferior confideration. I was debarred the rights,

rights, but could not forget the duties of a good subject.

York-Town gaol, where I was now confined, was so crowded with British prisoners, it being the stage for such as were marching fouthward, exclusive of those that were refident, that at length a contagious fever appeared. About this time Congress appointed a day of thankfgiving to be observed throughout the United States, and their proclamation was replete with professions of piety, benevolence, and charity towards their enemies. This I thought a proper time, by a firm and candid representation of facts, to draw their attention towards the miserable condition of the prison, and, in concurrence with the opinion of some officers who figned the paper, I wrote and fent them the following remonstrance:

To the Hon. HENRY LAURENS, Efq;

May it please your Honour,

We the subscribing persons, prisoners of war, having underwent a series of calamitous confinement equal to the utmost rigour, (which has given cause to loud complaint) had

had the pleasing prospect of seeing a period to fuch afflictions by an exchange of officers, or by that humane interpolition, which, in fuch cases, marks the character of a civilized and christian people; but unhappily find ourselves disappointed. We beg leave to remind your Honour, of the multitude of prisoners taken by his Majesty's forces, who have been restored to their friends, and their diffress alleviated by a dismission from captivity. Whilst we have beheld a succession of fuch events extending almost to all ranks of American prisoners, we are forry to fay, that our miseries have been aggravated by a most criminal imprisonment, in a loathsome, crowded jail, infected with a contagious fever, and polluted with noisome smells through every part. Could any motives, founded upon reasons even of a political nature, be urged in justification of the treatment we experience, it would appear to us less objectionable; but when we are satisfied that different gentlemen, in every respect in fimilar circumstances with ourselves, who were born and educated in this country, have been admitted to generous favours, sent into the British lines, either on parole, or exchanged,

changed, and, in every other respect, treated only as unfortunate, we find ourselves utterly at a loss to account for the peculiarity of our persecution. In your address to the inhabitants of the United States, it is therein publicly declared, that you have studiously endeavoured to alleviate the captivity of your enemies. We most heartily wish we could subscribe to this affertion; but how is it possible, when fixteen months imprisonment, of the most distressing nature, is the shortest time of which any of us complain? Subject to all the indignities, and low infults, of an illiberal goaler and turnkey, and placed upon the fame footing with horse-thieves, deferters, negroes, and the lowest and most despicable of the human race? To cultivate the affistance of Heaven by acts which Heaven approves, is a recommendation truly laudable. But whether the complaints which we thus exhibit, can be agreeable to the benignity of the Divine Ruler of Heaven, we submit to the dispassionate determination of your Honour. We beg leave, finally, to observe, that as this goal is a stage for all prisoners moving to the westward, that such as are fick, lame, or otherwise disabled, are left behind. K

behind, and as the yard, and every part of it, is truly odious, from the disagreeable smell, and unfit to maintain life, we intreat your Honour to lay this our Remonstrance before Congress, earnestly solliciting them to admit us to our paroles in any part of the country, or in some other manner to extend their humanity towards us, which, from our sufferings and your declarations, we have the greatest reasons to expect.

We are, Sir,

Your most obedient,
Humble servants.

John Connolly,
Richard Wm. Stockton,
Charles Harrison,
Asher Dunham,
Robert Morris,
Francis Frager.

York-Town Goal, May 17, 1778.

This Address was productive of the following Resolve of Congress, and Report from the Board of War:

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In Congress, May 23d, 1778.

Whereas it appears probable that attempts are making to mifrepresent the conduct of these United States towards the prisoners in their possession, in some degree, to wipe off or counterbalance the just reproach that has fallen upon our enemies for their barbarity.

Refolved, That the letter from John Connolly and others, dated York-Town gaol, May the 17th 1778, together with the report of the Board of War upon it, be published.

At a Board of War, 22d of May, 1778.

The Board, having taken into confideration the letter from Doctor John Connolly, and the other prisoners of war, most of whom have been lately removed from Carlisle goal, into the prison of the County of York, beg leave to report to Congress:

That, forbearing to remark upon the indecency of the terms in which the faid letter is conceived, and which is calculated for other purposes than merely to relate their pretended grievances, the board will lay before Congress the facts which they have collected from Major Wilson, commanding at K 2 Carlisle,

Carlisle, during the residence of Major Stockton, and other officers of his party, in the goal of that place---From Mr. Thomas Peters, Deputy Commissary of prisoners, who had the charge during the winter, of the prisoners at Carlisle and York, from Doctor Henry, employed to attend the British prisoners, when sick---and from Colonel Pickering, one of the board, who visited the goal of this place. From the concurrent testimony of all which gentlemen, the account given by the prisoners, in the said letter, appears to be founded in misrepresentations.

Major Wilson, who was frequently called in by the officers themselves, to examine their situation at Carlisle, agrees with the Commissary of prisoners.

That as often as either of these gentlemen visited the goal at Carlisle, the officers, being fix in number, had the privilege of the whole goal, except such part as the goaler occupied, and one room entirely to themselves; and, although the criminals were under the same roof, yet they were so far from being crowded, that there were not in the said goal more than six or seven prisoners at a time (and the most of these Tories) on an average, dur-

ing the confinement of the officers at that place. That the goal was as clean as fuch places can be kept; and if it had not been fo. the fault would have lain with the officers, who were indulged with two fervants to attend them for the purposes of cleansing their apartment, and waiting on their persons. These officers too, were confined by order of the Commissary General of prisoners, as a retaliation for those of our army suffering every degree of infult and cruelty, which British haughtiness and inhumanity could inflict, in the provost and dungeons of New-York and Philadelphia. This being the reason of their confinement, and the foregoing the fituation of it, the board conceive their imprisonment was of the mildest nature, when compared with the rigours of that of our own officers .--- But the goal at Carlifle not being secure, the Deputy Commissary of prisoners, removed them to the prison of this place, wherein was confined Doctor John Connolly, for the same causes which induced and continue their present imprisonment; and for other reasons of policy and prudence, Doctor Connolly having also fundry times behaved amiss while on parole.

In the goal of York, these prisoners (seven only in number) have two airy rooms; the one fifteen by twenty feet, and the other fomething less, besides the privilege of the whole goal yard, which is fixty yards long, and eighteen wide---frequently fwept, and kept as clean as possible, and by no means polluted with filth, &c. there being a privy at the extreme end of the yard. These gentlemen too, have three servants to attend them --- their complaints, then, of being confined in a loathsome, crowded prison, infected with a contagious fever, and polluted with noisome smells through every part, are not warranted by facts. The gaol is made a place of temporary confinement for paffing prisoners, but is never crowded, and there are now only nine privates therein, and three of them are the officers fervants, although it is capable of holding, conveniently, one hundred and fixty prisoners. There was, fometime ago, an apprehension, in a part of the goal, distant from the officers apartments, that a contagious fever had broke out among the foldiers: but the diseased were immediately removed to hospitals, and a surgeon and nurses provided for them, and every asfistance

fistance afforded them the nature of our affairs would admit. The goal is now clean and healthy, fave that there are five foldiers who have fevers, from want of exercise and other causes, common to places of confinement; but the disorders are not contagious or dangerous.

Mr. Connolly, although indulged with every thing a prisoner could reasonably wish, has repeatedly represented his own, and the fituation of the goal, in fimilar terms with the letter now under confideration; and the former, and this board, have often had confequent examinations, in all of which, they found the complaints groundless.---Once, particularly, when Mr. Connolly represented himself as at the point of death from the severity of his confinement, the board directed Doctor Shippen to visit him, who reported that his fituation was directly opposite to his representation; his indisposition slight, and merely of an hypochondriac nature; the board have been so particular for several reasons, one whereof is, to supercede the necessity of future enquiries; and are upon the whole of opinion,'that these gentlemen should be more strictly confined, as from the indulgencies

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now given them, there is a probability of some of them at least making their escape.

By order of the Board,

RICHARD PETER.

Published by order of Congress,

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

Nothing can have a greater appearance of dispassionate candour, if we except the expression Tories, than this report; yet nothing was ever more abundant in chicane and deceit. On the 17th of May, the date of our letter, the goal was exactly, literally, in the state we represented it to be: on the 23d of the same month it was what their report affirms. But, in the interim, fo industrious were they to give their proceedings every appearance of truth, as well as of humanity, one hundred and fifty privates had been fent away, some of the fick removed, the goal-yard thoroughly cleanfed, and our rooms whitewashed. They then, with an oftentatious formality, examined the prison, and made their report. But was it probable, was it possible, that men could have the temerity,

temerity, knowing themselves in the power of an unforgiving enemy, or the audacity, making pretention to the character of gentlemen, to affirm fuch direct falsehoods as their report made our letter to contain? Or if one were so spleen-ridden, as to magnify his miseries so excessively, would five other gentlemen have written their names, and difgraced themselves in attestation of his visions? No: Rouzed by a retrospection of things that could not be justified, and irritated that men should dare to speak the plain truth, they remove, in some measure, the cause of the complaint, and then affirm it never existed: they are afraid the tale should be told to their confusion, therefore resolve to tell it first themselves. No other excuse can be adduced to plead for the duplicity of their conduct, but the often reiterated one of political necessity. This, perhaps, may justify them to themselves, and to the world, as politicians, but will not invalidate my claim to distinction from the nation in whose cause I fuffered. It will, likewise, if admitted. be a melancholy proof, that politics and justice are things, in their own nature, very distinct and heterogeneous.

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There are other things in this report which I would wish should be particularly noticed. Retaliation, and other reasons of policy and prudence, are there affigned as the causes of my continued imprisonment. I hope this will be remembered, because very different motives are given hereafter. It is likewise there afferted, I had fundry times behaved amiss while on parole: this, upon the word and honour of a gentleman, I totally deny. I must, likewise, remark, that their other reasons of policy and prudence were evidently the conviction they had of my determination to leave nothing unessayed to serve his Majesty. They knew me to be an enterprizing, and, as may be adduced from the former part of this narrative, a dangerous enemy; and, therefore, would not fuffer me to efcape. These were reasons of policy and prudence.

Another effort is made to impugn my veracity, by faying, that Dr. Shippen, when he visited me, found my situation directly opposite to my representation: that my indisposition was slight, and merely of a hypochondriac nature. To this I answer, that when this visitation was made, I had lost my appetite;

appetite; had an incessant watchfulness; was reduced to a skeleton; had blisters upon my neck; was incapable of walking across the room; and, for the two preceding nights, my brother officers had very humanely sat up with me. That melancholy and hypochondria should be generated in such a situation is not to be wondered at; but surely these were indications of something more than a slight indisposition.

Here, that is, in York-Town gaol, I remained till the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British army; when, just before the return of Congress to that city, I was informed, officially, that a general exchange had taken place, and that I, amongst others, was exchanged: but before the final departure of Congress, this information, though from the Board of War, was contradicted. Towards the latter end of July, a still stronger assurance of approaching liberty arrived. A letter from the American Commissary General of Prisoners came to York-Town, wherein it was required that I, with my brother officers, should be immediately forwarded to Elizabeth Town, to be ex-I was now admitted to my changed. L 2 parole

parole (be pleased to observe) as a prisoner of war, and obtained a passport for myself and servant to Philadelphia, where I waited on the Deputy Commissary of Prisoners, and shewed him my passport. He informed me, I should proceed in a day or two, took my address, and recommended me to keep within my lodgings. punctual in waiting upon him at the time mentioned, when to my utter furprize and chagrine, he told me, I was by order of Congress, to be again confined, for a few days, in the new gaol, until that body had more properly confidered of the admission of my exchange, whither he had an officer in waiting to convey me. To have gained my parole, to be thus far advanced on my way, and afterwards, without the least cause, to be so cruelly and vexatiously again imprisoned, difturbed me fo much, that I wrote to the President of Congress, complaining bitterly of the length of my confinement, and evidently studied cruelty of my treatment, to which I received no answer. I then addressed myself to General Washington, and stated the peculiarity of my case, who wrote me a short reply to this purport; "That he had tranftransmitted my letter to the President of Congress, but could extend no relief to me, as I was the immediate prisoner of that body."

It was on the 5th of August, 1778, that I, for the third time, became an inhabitant of this prison, at which time I became acquainted with Captain Hawker, a Gentleman of great philanthrophy and liberality of sentiment, and to whom I owe every acknowledgment, for his polite attentions and civilities while he remained.

My irritation of mind was now fo great, that a difmal train of nervous diforders, established in my habit by former sufferings, were revived with such force, that sleep and appetite again forsook me, and I fell into the last stage of despondency. I wrote, however, on the 12th of October, to Congress, informed them of my ungenerous usage, and claimed the treatment of a prisoner of war. I ultimately demanded a personal audience of a Committee of Congress, in order to know wherefore I was resused to be exchanged, or on what pretence I had been subjected to such unparalleled injustice and indignities. The officers who signed the be-

fore recited remonstrance, were Provincial, not British officers, born and bred in America; and they, as well as many more in the same predicament, had been exchanged, therefore my country could be no impediment. Mr. Cameron, who had been taken with me at Hagar's Town, had been so also of course. I was upon that ground equally elligible, I therefore declared I was utterly incapable of accounting, by any mode of reasoning, for my peculiar detention, and required to receive personal and authentic information.

For once I was gratified, and brought before a committee, where having briefly recapitulated my causes of complaint, the chairman replied to the following purport:

That it had been for some time past his opinion, which he had not scrupled to communicate to Congress, that I should be kept in close custody, until Sir John Johnson was delivered up to them, who, he afferted, had broken his facred parole given to General Scuyler, and joined the enemy; since which time he had been committing ravages upon the northern frontiers, with a body of light troops and Indians, as he supposed I intended to do.

To this I answered, That a parole or honorary obligation, I presumed, was of modern date, calculated to alleviate the horrors of war; that no Gentleman could be answerable for any but himself; that I had been admitted to my parole above a year ago, when my conduct was irreproachable, and that I was again, without the least cause on my part, thrown into prison, and there continued for another year; that much had been said about the infraction of my parole, which I utterly denied to have been the case.

To this they replied, I certainly had not adhered to the spirit of it, for that I had spoken against their proceedings, and had frequently attempted to turn them into ridicule.

I answered, the spirit of my parole was so indefinite a phrase, that it carried no accufation; that it was impossible to produce an instance, and that nothing of this nature could be affirmed, except in vague and general terms.

The final objection they made to my exchange, turned upon the impropriety of my being confidered as a prisoner of war. They said, I had not been taken at the head of any armed

armed troops, but privately making my way through the country; and one of them afferted, I might be confidered as amenable to law martial, as a fpy; but at the same time he observed, there was no intention of treating me as such.

This was an accusation of so strange and novel a nature, that it excited both my furprize and indignation; and I answered it, recapitulating, that I had been now almost three years a prisoner, in which space I had been three times admitted to my parole on their own authority; that I had repeatedly complained to them of the harshness of my treatment, and the length of my imprisonment, but that they never before had alledged this crime against me in their justification; nor was it, I said, possible, with even a shadow of truth. I was the King's commissioned officer, taken in the execution of my duty, to a fovereign, at that time, acknowledged by themselves. America was not than a separate state; no independency was declared; no penal laws promulgated. Neither was there are thing to fpy. I was perfectly acquainted with the country, and there were no armed troops, fortifications,

or intrenchments, to be inspected; nay, more, themselves knew my business was not to give intelligence, but to act, which had been publicly declared in their proceedings concerning me, in which I had been acknowledged a prisoner of war.

The committee at length promised to confider and report my case to Congress, and as my health was so exceedingly and visibly impaired, gave me an intimation, that if I were not exchanged, I should be enlarged on parole. I was then re-conducted to prison.

As the fole end and purport of this narrative is to shew, that I was, from the commencement to the last moment, firm and active in my loyalty; that had I been at liberty, I had the power as well as the will to serve my sovereign and my country; that Congress were conscious of this, and therefore resolved to detain me, which they did in an extraordinary manner, and quite distinct from any other Loyalist, during the whole contest; I therefore hope my prolixities will be forgiven, and my endeavours to exhibit myself and sufferings such as they really were, considered not as the effusions of vanity, but a strict and literal representa-

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I shall be indulged with a patient hearing, while I contrast the affertions, and shew the incongruities of the opposite party; and that, while I "extenuate nought, nor aught set down in malice," I shall not be thought guilty of magnifying my own misfortunes, or the political injuries of my enemies.

Permit me then to remark, that in the report of the 23d of May, retaliation for the fufferings of American prisoners, and other reasons of policy and prudence, were assigned for the causes of my imprisonment; but fince that, having been more closely pressed for my release, and having no good reason to alledge why I should not be exchanged as well as others, they answered, for the first time, that I might be confidered as amenable to law martial as a Spy, but graciously gave me to understand, they would not totally proceed to fuch extremities. They had still a further subterfuge. The following note was fent me a few days after the above hearing from the committee:

The committee appointed to take into consideration the application of Lieutenant-

Colonel Connolly, request that gentleman will inform them of his reasons for not producing and pleading his commission, at the time he was first taken, and for a considerable time afterwards.

Thursday 12 o'clock.

It appears really aftonishing, to think that a body of men could fuffer fuch a note to escape them, when my papers had several times, and my commission among the rest, been examined; but the fact was, they wanted to publish something to the world, that should, in my case, have at least the semblance and plausibility of justice. However, I made them so cautious an answer, that they were obliged to drop this plea, and once again take refuge under the Spy. Accordingly, in about two months after this committee first gave me a hearing, and pretended to examine into the true state of the business. the following report and resolve of Congress were published:

Congress, Nov. 12, 1778.

The committee, to whom was referred a letter from John Beatty, Commissary of Pri-M 2 foners, foners, dated September 15th, 1778, together with two letters from Joshua Loring, Esq; of the 1st of September and 28th of October, and fundry letters from John Connolly, report the following state of facts: That Doctor John Connolly (now stiling himself Lieutenant-Colonel in the British fervice) was, in the latter end of November, 1775, apprehended in Frederick county, in Maryland, in company with a certain Allen Cameron, and John Smyth, by the Committee of Inspection of that county. That at the time he was taken, he was not in arms, or at the head of any party of men in arms, but was clandestinely making his way to Detroit, in order to join, give intelligence to, and otherwise aid the garrison at that place, as appears by his own intercepted letters of the 16th of December, 1775.

That a number of officers in the British fervice, who were made prisoners, long after the said John Connolly was apprehended, have been exchanged in course; and no demand has been made (till within these few months past) by any British General, for the release or exchange of the officer last-mentioned.

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With respect to the treatment of the said Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly, the Committee report:

That at the time when he was first apprehended, he was confined under guard, by the Committee of Inspection in the town of Frederick, in an apartment separate from his associates, without any circumstance to aggravate his captivity, except the being debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper: That, notwithstanding this restraint; he contrived to write several letters of intelligence to the British officers commanding at the posts of Detroit and Kuskuskis, which letters were found on the person of Dr. Smyth, one of his associates, who, having escaped from the town of Frederick, was again apprehended:

That by the resolution of Congress, of the 8th of December, 1775, he was ordered to be confined in prison at Philadelphia; that being brought to that city, he was confined in the new gaol, wherein he continued till about the month of November, 1776, when he was permitted, on account of a declining state of health, to reside on his parole, at the house of his brother-in-law, on the river Sufquehannah,

quehannah, where he continued for about two months; when, on information being given to the Council of Safety, of the state of Pennsylvania, of certain suspicious circumstances relative to him, he was remanded to his former place of confinement, in which he continued till about the spring, 1777, when he was again permitted on his parole, and the security of his brother-in-law, to return to his former place of residence on the river Susquehannah:

That during these periods of his confinement in the new gaol, he had, for the greatest part of the time, a separate apartment to himself, the privilege of walking in the yard, a person allowed to attend him in his apartment, and his own servant permitted to setch him such necessaries as he chose to order.

That during the short period, when he had not a separate apartment, there were never more than two persons in the same room, seldom more than one, and those, some of his associates, or in consequence of his particular request:

That during these periods of time, he made two attempts to escape, in which he was detected:

That on authentic information being given to Congress, at York-Town, that the said Lieut. Col. John Connolly, was acting in a manner not consistent with the spirit of his parole, and the frontiers being threatened with a barbarous war, in which there was reason to apprehend he was designed as an instrument, he was ordered into confinement in the gaol at York-Town on the 13th of October:

That on the 17th of May, the faid J. Connolly, with several others confined in said gaol, made a representation to Congress, setting forth in the strongest colouring, the hardships and cruelties which they declared they were then suffering:

That on the result of a strict enquiry, and after the gaol had been visited by Colonel Pickering, one of the Members to the Board of War, it appeared, that the suggestions contained in the said representation, were scandalous and groundless; and the report of the Board of War, was, on the 23d day of May, ordered to be published:

That fince the evacuation of Philadelphia, the faid J. Connolly was remanded to the new gaol in that city, where (excepting the space of about fourteen days, when two perfons were necessarily obliged to sleep in the same room) he has had a separate and commodious apartment of his own choice, the privilege of his own servant to attend him constantly, and to bring him whatever he may require, and the unrestrained use of a spacious yard to take the air in, during the day:

That in his letter of the 12th of October, 1778, the faid J. Connolly declared, "That the common rights of humanity are denied to him," and paints his fituation in such terms, as would tend to induce a belief, that the most wanton cruelties and restraints are imposed upon him:

That in consequence of a request of J. Connolly, to be heard in person by Committee of Congress, this Committee have complied with his request, when he declared, in presence of your Committee, "that, excepting the restraint of his person, under the limits above-mentioned, which, however indulgent they might appear, he conceived unsavourable to his state of health, he experienced every other relief which could be extended to a person in consinement:"

That Joshua Loring, Esq; British Commissary of prisoners, in his letter to Mr. Beatty of the first of September, 1778, threatens to retaliate on an American prisoner at war, of equal rank with Lieutenant Colonel Connolly, for the fufferings which, it is pretended that officer endures." Whereupon, Resolved, That Lieutenant Colonel John Connolly, cannot of right, claim to be confidered and treated as a prisoner of war; but that he was, at the time he was apprehended, and still is, amenable to the law martial, as a spy and emissary from the British army: --- that the repeated representations made by Lieut. Col. John Connolly, of the grievances he undergoes, are not founded on facts:--- That General Washington be directed to transmit the foregoing resolutions and state of facts, to the Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majesty's forces in New-York; and to inform the faid officer, that if, under the pretext of retaliating for the pretended fufferings of a person, who, by the law of nations, has no right to be considered as a prisoner of war, any American officer, entitled to be considered and treated

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as a prisoner of war, shall undergo any extraordinary restraints or sufferings, Congress are determined to retaliate on the person of an officer of the first rank in their possession, for every species of hardship or restraint on such account inslicted.

Extract from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

Though the inconsistencies of this paper are, I hope, evident from the sacts before related, yet as they may not strike a mind less interested with the same force, I beg to be indulged while I point out a few of them.

They make it one of my crimes, that although I was debarred the use of pen, ink, and paper, I, notwithstanding, contrived to write several letters of intelligence to British officers. This is ridiculous; for, certainly, if I had the means, it was as much my duty to aid my Sovereign when in prison, as when at liberty, I not having given, by parole, any promise to the contrary.

Another of my fins is, that I made two attempts to escape!

Sometimes they call me Doctor, sometimes Lieutenant-Colonel, and sometimes John Connolly; but when they speak of the lex talionis, they threaten to retaliate on the person of an officer of the first rank in their possession.

Another part of their report is contrary to truth: after the evacuation of Philadelphia, they fay I was remanded back to the new gaol in that city. The fact is as before related; I was going from York-Town to Elizabeth-Town, on my parole, to be exchanged, and was stopped at Philadelphia: but it did not suit their purpose to state it in this light.

They say no demand has been made, till within these sew months past, by any British General for my release, or exchange. This is an equivocation which must be explained in justice to Sir William Howe. I had come down to Philadelphia, in consequence of a general exchange of prisoners; which, previous thereto, could never be settled, owing to the impediments inseparable from a state of warfare in a rebellion. It could not, therefore, militate against that commander, as inattentive to the condition

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of a loyal American. I must likewise acknowledge, with the warmest gratitude, the zeal with which Sir Henry Clinton insisted upon my release, although this equitable and generous interference had nearly effected my destruction; for finding themselves, when they made the above resolve, in possession of General Phillips, and other officers of rank, the Congress were determined to keep me; and the threat of retaliation, however disguised, was palpably levelled at the last-mentioned General, and was, in fact, a plain declaration to Sir Henry Clinton, that I should not then be exchanged.

I owe, indeed, every obligation to Sir Henry's attention; for when the report, which the emissaries of Congress had propagated that I was not commissioned, reached the British lines; to obviate immediately that pretence, and all undue advantages that might be taken, had my commission been lost by any accident, or out of my power to produce, he instantly caused the following certificate to be transmitted to Philadelphia.

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Inspector General's Office, New-York, November 27, 1778.

This is to certify, that John Connolly, Efq; was appointed Lieutenant-Colonel in his Majesty's service, by his Excellency Lord Dunmore; and said Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly is now confined in prison by the enemy, in Philadelphia; and I further certify, that I have received Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly's full subsistence, up to the 25th December, 1778, by order of his Excellency Sir Henry Clinton, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's forces in North America.

H. Rook, D. I. G. P. forces.

(Copy from the original.)

I shall forbear to reason upon, or take any further notice of that part of their report, where they endeavour to shew I had not endured any peculiar hardships in my imprisonment, or of their treating me as a spy in their resolve, having before spoken to those points, but shall proceed with my narrative.

Some time after this, Doctor Berkenhout arrived at Philadelphia from New-York, and

was imprisoned on some suspicions, by which accident I became acquainted with that Gentleman, and much conversation passed between us concerning the most probable means of my obtaining my liberty. Shortly after he was delivered from his confinement, an order of Congress, under the fignature of their Secretary, came to the keeper to lock me up in my room, (I having then the privilege of walking in the gaol yard) place a centinel at my door, and allow no person whatever to converse with me. The complexion of the times, the formality of the order, coming immediately too from Congress, and the strictness with which it was enforced, gave me reason to believe that the last tragic act was now to take place, and that I should be released from my sufferings by execution; and in fuch a state were both my mind and body, that this imagination gave far more pleasure than pain. I remained in this suspence for fix weeks, when my door was again thrown open, and I was allowed to walk in the yard. It afterwards appeared, that Mr. Silas Deane, in his defence of his public transactions while Ambassador to the Court of France, had affirmed, he had discovered, by means of his emissaries at New-York, that Dr. Berkenhout had made a proposition to the British General, to suspend all exchanges of American officers till I was admitted to be exchanged, and that I was then to be sent to the northward, to carry on a predatory war, whence he afferted, he had saved the inhabitants of the United States from the horrors of Indian hostilities. This, absurd as it was, and calculated for private views only, was the cause of my above close confinement.

Soon afterwards I was suddenly attacked by a cholera morbus, and continued in so languishing a state, that in the beginning of April, 1779, a certificate of my infirmities was signed by two of the most eminent physicians in Philadelphia, and sent by them to Congress, wherein they declared, that unless I was allowed the open air, I must fall a victim to imprisonment, on which I was allowed to ride four hours a day, within the limits of about two miles, but on my parole, obliged to return every night to confinement. It was intimated likewise, I should soon be sent to Reading and exchang-

ed; but even the indulgence of riding in the open air, was presently prohibited, and I again shut up in prison.

Thus I continued till the 17th of November, at which time, in consequence of the return of General Sullivan, from his expedition against Colonel Butler and the Indian auxiliaries, in which he was supposed to have greatly intimidated those people; and as it was evident, that my health was in a manner irreparably impaired, and the fortune of the war more favourable to Congress, they came to the following resolve.

In CONGRESS,

Read a report from the Board of War.

Whereupon resolved,

That the Commissary-General of prisoners be authorized to enlarge Lieutenant-Colonel John Connolly, for any Lieutenant-Colonel in the service of the United States, now a prisoner with the enemy.

By order of Congress,

Signed

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

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I was quickly after sent to German Town on parole, and on the 4th of July, 1780, allowed to go to New-York on the following conditions:

Philadelphia.

His Excellency General Washington having granted me permission to repair to the City of New-York on parole, for the purpose of negociating my exchange for that of Lieutenant-Colonel Ramsay, I do promise, on my word of honour and faith as a gentleman, that I will pass from here on the direct road to the said City of New-York, by the way of Elizabeth Town, and that I will return to captivity at the expiration of one month from this day, unless within that time the above-mentioned exchange is effected.

I do, in like manner, pledge my word and facred honour, that I will not, directly nor indirectly, fay or do any thing injurious to the United States of America, or the armies thereof; but that I will in all things conduct myself as a prisoner of war ought and should do, under the indulgence granted me.

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It is worthy of remark, that, in the refolve, Congress authorized me to be exchanged for any Lieutenant-Colonel in the fervice of the United States; but in the strange parole, which they obliged me to give, they insist upon a particular person, a favourite Colonel. However, that all neceffity of my return to Philadelphia might be totally superseded, the Commander in Chief allowed Colonel Ramfay to fet off on his parole immediately, and the final adjustment of the matter was deferred till the 25th of October, 1780, at which time, after fuffering what I have related, in an imprisonment of almost five years, I congratulated myself on a restoration to liberty.

I was no fooner free, than I was highly folicitous to be employed in the mode most likely to render service. I had observed that Lord Cornwallis, now advancing from the southward, was often retarded by the temporary junction of the Militia with the Congressional troops. I knew the country, the capacity and genius of these men, and the necessity of obliging them to attend to defultory operations in their rear, to facilitate his Lordship's gallant endeavours. I, therefore, submitted

fubmitted a plan to the consideration of Sir Henry Clinton, wherein I proposed attacking some out-posts on the frontiers of the Middle Colonies, to possess myself of Pittsburgh, fortify the passes of the Allegeheney Mountains, and with Provincial troops, and Indian auxiliaries, act as emergencies might require. His Excellency was pleased to approve of this measure; but as the season was too far advanced to arrive in proper time on the proposed sield of action, by the circuitous route of the river St. Lawrence and the lakes, it was laid aside.

In the month of April, 1781, I found myself very ill; but as his Excellency intimated early in June a wish that I should join the army under Lord Cornwallis, though I knew the danger of the hot climates to my constitution at that time, I did not suffer myself to hesitate a moment, but obeyed. I had hope, too, of here effecting another purpose; about which I was extremely anxious. I was without a regiment, and was endeavouring to raise one at New-York; but as the recruiting there went on very slowly, I slattered myself I might be enabled to compleat my corps to the southward; and before

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my departure, his Excellency was pleased to confirm my rank as Lieutenant Colonel in the Provincial line.

Having joined Lord Cornwallis, and followed him to York-Town, an enemy's fleet being daily expected on the coast, his Lordship appointed me to the command of the Virginia and North Carolina Loyalists, with a detachment of the York Volunteers. I was directed to move down to Back River, to protect the inhabitants of the Peninsula, lying between the Chefapeak-Bay and James River, who were exposed to the ravages of armed boats from the eastern shore of Virginia. I had not marched above five miles on this expedition, before I was obliged to halt, being informed the French fleet had arrived, and that two seventy-four gun ships were actually at the entrance of York-River. I was, therefore, ordered to return to the vicinity of York-Town.

The men had underwent excessive fatigue in an inclement climate; had been obliged to drink noxious water; the horses in the legionary camp were lying dead in numbers; the negroes that followed the army could hardly be buried fast enough; and the pu-

trescent

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trescent effluvia, that consequently followed, made the air too unwholesome for the small remains of vigour in my constitution to resist its effects. Lying in the field brought on a dysentery; I was obliged to go into fick quarters; and the diforder turned to a debilitating diarrhæa, that reduced me to almost the last extremity. Remaining in the town was certain death; and the only remedy was a change of air. I had been invited by some loyal gentlemen to their houses, and as the inhabitants of the Peninsula had either been admitted to parole, or had taken the oath of allegiance, there seemed little danger in accepting the invitation; yet, as it was poffible, though, as I supposed, very improbable, I might again fall into the hands of the enemy, desperate as my state of health then certainly was, I would not venture into the country till I had first informed Lord Cornwallis of my wishes, and obtained leave; which his Lordship, as humane as he is brave, instantly granted by the following note:

a service to be designed to

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Head-Quarters, 21st Sept. 1781.

Sir,

I am directed by Lord Cornwallis to inform you, that he most readily consents to your going to the country, or taking any other step that you think will contribute to the establishment of your health; his Lordship wishes you a speedy and perfect recovery; and I am with great regard,

Sir,

your most obedient most humble Servant, A. Ross, Aid du Camp.

Lt. Col. Connolly.

Incapable of riding on horseback, I set out in a small sulkey, attended by two servants; and on the road, met the gentleman to whose house I was going, who informed me there was no danger; and perceiving me to be very weak and exhausted, went with me to a contiguous gentleman's house, and introduced me to the family, advising me to repose till the sun declined, by which time he would return from York-Town, whither he was going, and accompany me home.

My friend not returning so soon as I expected, I set forward without him, but had not proceeded far before three men, with fixed bayonets, rushed out of a thicket and made me and one of my servants prisoners.

They drove my carriage into a forest of pines, and detained me till night for fear of a rescue, and then, by secret roads, conducted me to a place called New-Port-News, where I first learnt that General Washington was arrived at Williamsburgh, before whom, they infifted I must be taken, having no respect for my illness, nor any conception of admitting a prisoner, in such a predicament, to his parole. It perhaps, was happy for me that they did not; for the air, or exercise, or both, had fuch an effect upon me, that when I was put to bed, I flept upwards of three hours; a refreshment to which I had been long a stranger. In fact, I have reason to believe, that though the misfortune of captivity feemed to haunt me, yet, in this instance it saved my life.

From hence I was embarqued in a whale boat, and put on board a French ship, Armée en Flute, where I had the good fortune to meet with Admiral Barras, with the Artillery

officers

officers of the French army, who treated me with all the tenderness and humanity, which the feelings and politeness of gentlemen could dictate. The next day I was sent on shore to General Lincoln, who behaved to me with every respect, sent one of his Aids to accompany me, and very obligingly furnished me with his own horse, as he was remarkably gentle and safe and no carriage to be had, to carry me to General Washington.

I was now to fee a man with whom I had formerly been upon a footing of intimacy, I may fay of friendship. Politics might induce us to meet like enemies in the field, but should not have made us personally so. I had small time for reflection; we met him on horseback coming to view the camp. I can only say the friendly sentiments he once publicly professed for me, no longer existed. He ordered me to be conducted to the Marquis de la Fayette's quarters.

From the Marquis I received every civility and attention; and on account of my health, was entertained by him for three days, when being folicitous to avoid giving trouble, I was fent on parole by General Washington's orders, about fixty miles back

into the country. Here I remained till I heard of the catastrophe at York-Town, and that the British officers were generally allowed to go into New-York. I thereupon wrote to the American Commissary General for passports, but could obtain no satisfactory answer. I applied to General Washington, and was equally disappointed. Being left alone, as it were, in an enemy's country, and no authority capable of granting my request remaining, except the Governor's of Virginia, to him I had recourfe. From this gentlemen, I obtained permission to go to Philadelphia, on receiving a written affurance from me, of submitting myself there to those who had the supreme direction of prisoners. I did not reach this city till the 12th of December, when I applied to the Secretary of War, for leave to proceed to New-York, but foon found I had unexpected difficulties to encounter. I was detained at a public house above a fortnight, and then committed to prison by the following warrant, under the Seal of the Common Wealth, issued by the Executive Council, and figned by the President, a copy of which I demanded from the gaoler.

P You

You are hereby authorized and directed to receive into your custody, a certain John Connolly, an officer in the British service, charged with having broke his parole, given in the State of Virginia, and him safely keep until he be delivered in due course of law.

Given under my hand and feal, in the Council Chamber, this twenty eighth of December, Anno Domini, 1782.

W. Moore, President.

To the keeper of the gaol of the city and county of Philadelphia.

The above is a true copy of the original remaining in my hand.

JOHN REYNOLDS, Gaoler.

The pretence of a breach of parole was preposterous, and to be delivered from confinement for such an offence, by due course of law, was more so. I wrote to General Washington on the occasion, but soon discovered he did not intend I should have left Virginia, and appeared determined, at first, that I should return. To this I could not volunta-

voluntarily accede, and I remained in prison till the 1st of March; when, by the interposition of friends, I was at length permitted to go to New-York, provided I went from thence to Europe, where (at New-York) I arrived on the 11th of the same month.

I must here take notice, that the raifing of my intended regiment became no longer practicable, as the officers whom I had warranted for that service, with the recruits raised in Virginia, had shared a common fate with the army at York-Town; and those that remained at New-York, as soon as the war became merely defensive, were drafted into another corps.

When the fleet failed, Sir Guy Carleton gave me permission to come to England, for the recovery of my health, where I yet continue to receive my subsistence, as Lieutenant-Colonel in the Provincial service, as will appear by the annexed letter from the Secretary of State to his Excellency Sir Guy Carleton.

Whitehall, Feb. 24, 1783.

SIR,

Having laid before the King a letter from Lieutenant-Colonel Delancey, Adjutant-General of the forces under your command, to Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly, acquainting him that fome difficulties have arisen with regard to the propriety of issuing his pay in North-America, on account of his absence upon leave. I am, in obedience to his Majesty's commands, to acquaint you, that he is pleased to approve of your causing the pay due to Lieutenant Connolly to be issued to him, and of its being continued, from time to time, during his absence on leave.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed)

J. Townshend.

Sir Guy Carleton, K. B.

It is a duty incumbent on me to shew, that the truth of the foregoing narrative need not rest solely on my affertions, the following papers are authentic testimonials of its veracity:

I hereby

'I hereby certify, that Major John Connolly was appointed by me to the command of the militia of West Augusta County, in his Majesty's colony of Virginia; and that he exerted himself as a faithful officer, in the discharge of that duty, until the commencement of the rebellion, when the good of the King's fervice, and my own personal fecurity, obliging me to withdraw from the feat of government, I authorized Major Connolly to adjust all differences with the adjacent Indian tribes, and to incline them towards his Majesty's interest. This service appeared to me to have been well performed, from the belts and speeches transmitted by their Chiefs through him to me, notwithstanding that Commissioners from the Asfembly (at that time refolved into an illegal convention), attended the treaty at Pittsburgh, in order to influence them to affist in their meditated opposition, to the constitutional authority of this kingdom.

Upon the performance of this service, in conformity to my direction, the troops under the command of Major Conolly at Fort Pitt, were discharged agreeable to the provision made by the Act of Assembly; and he

repaired

repaired to me, through much difficulty, with a zeal and alacrity that bespoke the firmest loyalty. I immediately dispatched Major Connolly to Boston, informing General Gage of the fituation of the colony at that period; and as Major Connolly had a formidable interest on the frontiers, I proposed his raising a body of men for his Majesty's fervice there, and in the contiguous parts of Quebec government, and to command an expedition, fo as to co-operate with me, for the reduction of the King's enemies; for which purpose he was invested with a commission of Lieutenant-Colonel Commandant, bearing date the 5th of November, 1775, with full powers to act as emergencies might require. In the execution of this duty, Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly was unfortunately made a prisoner, and continued as fuch, under the immediate direction of Congress, near five years, suffering a constant state of confinement. I farther certify, that Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly, from his loyalty and attachment to government, forfeited a very confiderable fum of money due to him from the Affembly of Virginia, for his public services as an officer; and that his estate

estate was also confiscated; four thousand acres of his landed property having been patented by me, whilst I had the honour to preside as his Majesty's representative in Virginia.'

Given under my hand the 25th day of October, 1782.

(Signed)

DUNMORE.

'I certify, that Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly, came from his Excellency the Earl of Dunmore to Boston, in the year 1775, and laid before me certain propositions for the suppression of his Majesty's enemies in the colony of Virginia; to promote which, I gave orders to a detachment of the King's troops, then in the Illinois, to receive the directions of Lord Dunmore; and I farther certify, that in the execution of this duty, it was reported to me, that Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly was made a prisoner by the enemy, and that from every appearance, he manifested the greatest loyalty and attachment to the constitutional authority of government.'

Given under my hand, this 30th of October, 1782.

(Signed)

THOMAS GAGE.
What

What I have faid in this recapitulation will meet, I hope, on every hand, with a candid construction. It is a cutting reflection to find, on looking it through, that it is a tale of fickness and misfortunes, instead of a history of glorious actions and essential fervices; but the affigned causes are surely a fufficient apology. The contemplative and humane must commiserate the infirmities of nature, whilst the magnanimous and enterprizing must dread similar impediments in the pursuit of glory. In my own vindication I have been obliged to speak of persons and things as they were, but I hope this has been done without exaggeration or malignity. I wish not to revive animosities had I the power, nor to complain of men who, whatever were their motives then for inflicting severities upon me in particular, are never likely to have the same cause, or the same opportunity. They, doubtless, thought themselves acting virtuously, and would plead the love of their country, in extenuation of errors; I must do the same, with this addition, my virtues, in their eyes, became my crimes; let not my misfortunes, in the eye of government, become my faults. I shall

conclude, with a few reflections on the nature of the Provincial fervice, before and during the Civil Wars, and of what I deem my confequent and reasonable claims on this country.

Before the dismemberment of the British empire, the provincial officer in North America knew, with precision, upon what footing he took the field, to co-operate with British troops, to prevent incursion, or effect conquest. His rank was determined by the King, and wherever he acted in conjunction with his fellow-subjects of this country, either within his own province, or in another colony, every difficulty was obviated. He was confidered as the junior officer: this was evidently an equitable and a fufficiently honourable mark of Royal favour. The loyalty that induced him to espouse the quarrels of Britain in America, promoted, likewife, the fecurity of his own property, and restored the bleffings of peace and affluence to himself, his friends, and countrymen. Few reflected that it was as British colonists they were involved in the wars of Britain, or that a seperate system of government could withhold them from feconding the interest

of

of the parent state. As Englishmen they felt, and as Englishmen they were ready to act; but as the entire professional soldier, select from the body of his fellow-subjects, was but of a temporary nature, and the return of peace replaced him in his former happy station, it would have been unjust to have expected the permanent rank and emoluments of him, who devoted himself wholly to the profession of the sword. It is the immunities of a member of this empire, founded upon the broad basis of equity and justice, that must give efficacy to reasonable pretensions.

In former wars, when American subjects acted in conformity to the orders of their so-vereign, and were commissioned by the royal representative to military command, the pecuniary advantages annexed to the respective stations in which they appeared, arose from the acts of general assembly of the governments wherein they resided; and this provision more ample, or circumscribed, depended upon the temper or generosity of the different legislatures. The late unfortunate dispute, wherein not only the prerogative of the King, but the supremacy of the Parlia-

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ment of this kingdom, was the litigated cause between Britain and her colonies, and in the maintainance of which, the American loyalist who attempted to support this fystem as constitutional, took an active part, changed totally the nature of his political connexions. Cut off from his former dependance by the iffue of the war, excluded from the privileges of the community to which he belonged, and deprived of his property as a mark of its displeasure and disapprobation of his conduct, to whom can he apply for retribution, but to that power which has been the fource of his misfortunes? Or how can he be more honourably or equitably treated in the fociety to which he is now attached, than by a provision in that line by which he became a sufferer. Congress have afferted, that we were destined by Britain to be hewers of wood, and drawers of water. The time is now arrived, when ample opportunity is allowed to contradict this ungenerous aspersion, and full scope given to the exercise of that generosity of disposition and liberality of fentiment, for which I hope this nation will forever appear as the fairest candidate. The peculiarity of my case

case is without parallel, and my pretensions, if as fuccessful as just, can afford no precedent. The troops to be raifed under my orders, both from Canada and Virginia, must illustrate the conditions upon which I entered the service, and plainly shew that my intended operations were not merely Colonial, as an inhabitant of Virginia, but that from the St. Laurence to the Mississippi, I was equally ready to obey the royal mandate. Commissioned as Lieutenant-Colonel, unconditionally by the King's representative, at the commencement of the rebellion, and taken in the execution of my duty as a faithful fervant of the Crown, held in captivity five years by the enemy, to prevent the efforts of my capacity, to difregard my claim, as the consequence of such misfortunes, my fufferings, my zeal, and loyalty, must then operate as my greatest faults; and what I ever flattered myself, must argue in my favour, would unexpectly complete the measure of my disappointment from captivity.

Upon my releasement, as the war was changed from an offensive to defensive one, in the Northern Colonies, and the prospect

of raising a corps in circumscribed limits where I had no particular interest, but faint and unpromising, the Commander in Chief, sensible of the hardness of my case, was pleased to confirm my rank in the provincial line. And I must beg leave to offer my being fully subsisted as Lieut. Col. and which I yet continue to receive, as a corroborating proof of my merits, and the propriety of my present requisition.

In fact, feeling as I do, the cause of exultation the disappointment would afford my political enemies, and the oblique implied reflection upon my character, from a treatment less distinguishing than my loyal countrymen of the same rank, I must beg leave to infinuate, that I can receive no adequate recompence through any other channel. A compensation for my loss of estate is, in that case, all I require; and I shall endeavour to support this unmerited adversity, with that conscious dignity of mind, which I hope will never forsake me, and in a manner the least exceptionable.

JOHN CONNOLLY.













